

Society for Historians of the Early American Republic

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Danville to Richmond, a tobacco manufacturing boom ensued. The manufacture of tobacco, though, also involved few tools and simple marketing techniques; hence, the manufacturing boom did not promote broad-based development.

Siegel solidifies his argument by comparing Pittsylvania County and the diversified Shenandoah Valley county of Augusta. He finds that the random effects of nature permitted successful diversification in Augusta and dictated Pittsylvania's tobacco monoculture.

The heart of Siegel's book is an analytical and theoretical section which has been sandwiched between two narratives. The narratives partially flesh out the argument but are sometimes underdeveloped. The chapter on the social control of workers and the self-control of entrepreneurs, for example, only glimpses at the slave patrol and the temperance movement; and the discussion of the planters' capitalist ideology is insubstantial. Furthermore, some readers will be unpersuaded by Siegel's portrait of planter-entrepreneurs. Planters like South Carolina's James Henry Hammond participated in capitalist ventures but were surely not Yankee-style capitalists. Other readers will wonder about the apparent absence of popular resistance to the market. Finally, a good portion of this book is about political economy, yet the author has not steeped the work in southern political historiography.

These caveats aside, Siegel has written an important and generally persuasive book. It should spawn similar local studies and thus encourage the kind of development of southern economic historiography that the Danville economy never achieved.

Wayne State University

Marc W. Kruman

The Papers of Daniel Webster: Speeches and Formal Writings, Vol. 1: 1800-1833. Edited by Charles M. Wiltse. (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986. Pp. xx, 641. \$70.00.)

The past two decades have been kind to Daniel Webster. Unlike many of his outstanding compatriots—Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun come most quickly to mind—"the Sage of Marshfield" has been enjoying an historical revival. Biographies by Maurice Baxter and Irving Bartlett as well as topical studies by Robert Dalzell, Sydney Nathans, and Norman Brown have supplemented our knowledge of the controversial New Englander. Although previous series of Webster's letters and speeches have been published, Charles Wiltse and his able teams of assistants are diligently compiling new editions of his correspondence, legal papers, diplomatic papers, and speeches and formal writings.

This first volume in the speeches and formal writings series is essential for an understanding of Webster's transformation from states' righter to nationalist. The editors begin with his maiden political effort—the anti-war Rock-

ingham (N.H.) memorial to President James Madison. This declaration of New England Federalism, drafted principally by Webster in the summer of 1812, mirrored the views of this brightening star. The young barrister entered the House of Representatives within the year. For the next decade he served as a leading spokesman for states' rights, extolling the virtues of the compact theory and denouncing "the tyranny of arbitrary government" (27). Webster attacked not only the "unjust" War of 1812, but conscription and, especially, the tariff.

As his constituency changed, however, from shipping interests to manufacturers, Webster shifted with them. He now felt more comfortable supporting certain nationalistic economic policies (such as a national bank and federally funded internal improvements) upon which he had maintained a rather low political profile. By 1826 the speeches reveal a Webster who had become the administration's House floor leader, forcefully arguing Adams' positions on both domestic (Indian problems) and foreign (the Panama Mission) policy. His national reputation was made (and his political metamorphosis completed), however, in the legendary Webster-Hayne debate of 1830. The editors give the reader two versions of his second reply (totaling over one hundred pages). The volume ends with Webster's brilliant interpretation of the nature of the Constitution during the debate with Calhoun over the Force Bill of 1833. "Black Dan" thundered against nullification, secession, and the compact theory of government.

While this volume contains several non-political speeches, including a moving eulogy to John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the focus is upon the evolution of a politician. Webster emerges as the dynamic orator we have always believed him to be because he was intelligent, articulate, and very well organized. The editors concede that he presented no political philosophy, but rather acted on a set of longstanding, conservative principles. These principles served him well, maintaining him in public service for the better part of forty years.

Wiltes and his co-editors offer us little that is new (many of the speeches can be found in the 1903 James McIntyre edition of *Writings and Speeches*). However, the selections, commentary, annotations, and calendar make it a valuable contribution to the deservedly growing body of literature on a fascinating antebellum figure.

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John M. Belohlavek

The American Newness: Culture and Politics in the Age of Emerson. By Irving Howe. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986. Pp. viii, 99. \$12.50.)

Irving Howe prefaces the published version of his 1985 Massey Lectures at Harvard University with a series of questions. To understand the "Emersonian . . . spirit in the national experience," he asks, "What were